11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4 Mapuche

sort of labor usually performed in this fashion. On work days there might be a better-than-ordinary meal and perhaps something special to drink, but there is no great consumption of food as in *mingaco* celebrations. Furthermore, the host in a *vuelta mano* arrangement works as hard as his partners. Like the small *mingaco* groups, however, partners in a *vuelta mano* arrangement are usually kin, males of the same patrilineage. Ceremonial kinsmen (*trafkin, misha,* or *koncho*) frequently engage in joint labor on a *vuelta mano* basis. Nevertheless, while kinship is generally an underlying feature of most interpersonal relationships in the reservation community, simply because of the composition of the group, one's *vuelta mano* partner is generally selected on the basis of friendship, the actual closeness of the kinship tie being of less importance. *Vuelta mano* arrangements are sometimes made between individuals from different reservations. In these instances, however, there is often an affinal kinship bond. Certainly long local residence is an important factor in establishing the relationship.

Other Labor Arrangements

The practice of hiring labor is presumably most recent and is associated with mechanization, from all accounts. Labor is sometimes hired in the harvest season, when a larger work force is needed than the family can provide and when the family head is not able to engage in the work himself or does not wish to commit himself to assisting his field hands in *vuelta mano*. Labor is, however, only very rarely hired during the preparatory and planting periods. Cash wages are paid. This signifies immediately that only the most affluent Mapuche can afford to hire field hands. Furthermore, since these men are the ones best able to afford the expenses of *mingaco,* it may also signify a conscious break with tradition and/or a rupture in their relationships with the rest of the community – a difference based on emerging wealth-status considerations. Since the practice of hiring labor is quite rare, I was unable to observe many arrangements of this sort. However, in most of the cases of which I was aware, the individuals who hired field hands, rather than work their land under some other arrangement, seemed to be atypical members of the community in other respects as well.

When Mapuche do hire field hands these are usually Indian boys from the same reservation or at least from the locality. Chilean *tarreros* (migratory workers) are sometimes employed, but usually

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he may sell his land for a lump sum, and is generally indifferent to whatever effects his renting the land to a Chilean might have on the reservation community. It could mean that the Chilean renter might obtain *ocupante* status and receive a parcel of reservation land when and if the land is divided into severalty holdings. In effect, this deprives Mapuche residents of a share of land that would have been apportioned among them. A situation of this sort occurred on reservation Nahuelpan at the time of *division* in 1949 and a similar case has already transpired on Llancaman, which continues to have full reservation status. Many examples of this sort are contained in the archives of the Ministry of Lands and Colonization.

In many cases, renting land to a Chilean amounts to a complete surrender of one's cultural integrity and agrarian status. For this reason it occurs most frequently with Mapuche who have already left the reservation. It is not a favored solution for increasing income among reservation Indians both because of this "surrender" and because of the real danger of the eventual loss of all or part of one's land.

Tenant Farming

The practice of admitting Chileans to the reservations as tenant farmers or *inquilinos* also has its risks but, perhaps owing to Chilean conceptions of landlord and tenant relationships, the Mapuche "landlord" is usually regarded as having the higher status, the upper hand. As with rental arrangements, tenant and landlord legalize their transaction on a one-year contract basis before the *Juez de Indios.*

The tenant differs from the renter, usually, in that he is a poor peasant who operates his single holding. A renter tends to have land in several places, and perhaps is a *fundo* owner himself. It is clear that renters usually are relatively high-status Chileans who often carry political weight in respect, at least, to the Mapuche with whom they are dealing. The tenant's dependent position in the theoretical framework of landlord-tenant relationships operates to the Mapuche landholder's advantage if he should have to resort to legal action to remove his tenant from the land.

Mapuche "landlords" fall roughly into two economic categories: those who are relatively well-to-do and those who are not. The well-to-do landlord might admit a tenant for the prestige it will give him in the community. He surely expects to profit from the labor of the tenant, who works a specified part of the landlord's fields for a percentage of the harvest. The tenant frequently provides plowing

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683 591 nomic reasons) are accused of having been chased from their natal communities for practicing witchcraft. People speak of them in whispers as "once having been a witch," the implication being that no action will be taken against them as long as they 754 do not renew their evil activities. Since these men tend to be ambitious, underlying their search for more land, and attempt to 156 make the most of uxorilocal residence—an unviable condition in 578 most cases—they usually arouse the hostility of some members 591 of their adoptive community. Among males, these in-married men are most suspect of themselves engaging in witchcraft, or in hiring the services of a sorcerer, to enhance their own status.

The Sisterhoods

754 756 Something remains to be said about groups of shamans and sorcerers qua groups. Cooper (1946:750), again following Métraux, wrote, "there were no shaman societies," and by his silence on the matter seems to imply there were no societies of witches. He did mention, though, that aspiring *machi* were secretly instructed by practicing shamans and were initiated "into the profession" according to solemn ritual, which included animal sacrifice, feasting, and a symbolic expression of unity, at least between neophyte and teacher.

Actually both shamans and witches form what might be called, legitimately, corporate groups. That of the shamans is a life and blood reality, with its supe[illegible]ural component. That of [172] the witches is real in the sense of its existence in people's thoughts and its effect of social action, and it seems to complement that of the shamans in the Mapuche dualistic theory of good and evil forces. There are any number of hints of this structure in the historic and more recent literature, and the dualism at least is noted by Titiev (1951:114).

754 *Kalku* are believed to gather in *reñu*, where they conduct their evil machinations in subterranean secrecy. They fly by night to their rendezvous, frequently as *chonchon*, when the occasion demands. Titiev, although not mentioning the corporate nature of the witching profession, refers to these meetings as "witches' Sabbaths," which I think is a fair figure of speech, even though [184] it might imply regularity which does not exist. The composition of witches' groups is somewhat differently conceptualized in